

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

PRS-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 IO-03 ORM-01 SR-02 SY-02 ACDA-10

RSC-01 /059 W

----- 079677

R 291400Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1038

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN

USDOCOSOUTH

USCINCEUR

DIA WASHDC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0404

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR CY

SUBJ: SOME IMPLICATIONS OF WSBA EVACUATION AND RESULTING
DEMONSTRATIONS

SUMMARY: THIS TELEGRAM ADDRESSES IMPLICATIONS OF JANUARY
18-20 RIOTS. CONCLUDES GOC, AT LEAST TACITLY, SANCTIONED
VIOLENCE. WHILE THIS MAY DIVERT PUBLIC ATTENTION FOR SHORT
WHILE FROM LACK OF NEGOTIATING PROGRESS, IN END UNLEASHING
MOBS COULD WORK TO ARCHBISHOP'S DISADVANTAGE. END SUMMARY.

1. EVACUATION OF WSBA REFUGEES HAS UNDERScored IN
DRAMATIC FASHION FACT THAT MANY, IF NOT MOST, GREEK
CYPRIOT DISPLACED PERSONS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN
TO THEIR HOMES. EARLIER "HUMANITARIAN" TRANSFERS, POW
EXCHANGES, AND ILLEGAL SEEPAGE OF SOUTHERN TURKS,

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ALTHOUGH MORE SIGNIFICANT IN TERMS OF ABSOLUTE NUMBERS,

HAD PASSED WITHOUT TOO MUCH PROTEST BY GREEK PUBLIC. WSBA AIRLIFT BROUGHT HOME FACTS THAT (A) THERE ARE RELATIVELY FEW TURKS (MOST ESTIMATES DO NOT EXCEED 10,000) REMAINING IN GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AREA AND (B) THAT TURKS WHO HAVE BEEN TRANSFERRED ARE MOVING INTO HOUSES AND BUSINESSES ABANDONED BY DISPLACED GREEKS.

2. WSBA EVACUATION ALSO EMPHASIZED APPARENT PERMANENCY OF POPULATION TRANSFER. MANY OF TURK CYPRIOTS INVOLVED WERE LONG-TERM BASE EMPLOYEES WHO GAVE UP WELL PAYING JOBS AND PENSION RIGHTS TO MOVE NORTH. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THEY WOULD AGREE RETURN SOUTH EVEN AFTER A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS REACHED. SAME CONCLUSION IS PROBABLY ALSO APPLICABLE TO TURK CYPRIOT FARMERS AND MERCHANTS WHO LEFT BUSINESSES, HOMES, AND FIELDS FOR TREK NORTH.

3. MORE THAN ACTUAL MOVEMENT, GOVERNMENT'S RELUCTANCE TO KEEP PUKTIC ADEQUATELY INFORMED, AND CORRESPONDING SUDDENNESS OF REALIZATION OF POPULATION TRANSFER, CAME AS DEEP SHOCK FOR MOST GREEK CYPRIOTS. FEW NOTICED THAT GOC SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR TRANSFER IN SENSE THAT IT HAD MADE NO EFFORT TO REPAIR

REFUGEES' LOOTED VILLAGES OR TO OFFER STRONG PLEDGES OF SECURITY SO THAT TURK CYPRIOTS WOULD HAVE HAD ALTERNATIVE TO STAYING IN SQUALID PARAMALI CAMP OR ACCEPTING EVACUATION TO TURKEY.

4. IT WAS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS TOOK TO THE STREETS JANUARY 18 FOR THEIR FIRST VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE AUGUST. FRUSTRATED OVER LACK OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS, 22PCT. UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CONCERN FOR MISSING PERSONS, IN ADDITION TO REFUGEE ISSUE, DEMONSTRATORS WERE EASY TARGET FOR RABBLE ROUSERS. ALSO, MANY IN CROWD MUST HAVE FELT A SENSE OF BETRAYAL ON PART CYPRIOT LEADERS, ALMOST ALL OF WHOM HAVE AVOIDED ANY REALISTIC DISCUSSION OF INTERCOMMUNAL ISSUES SINCE WAR. CLERIDES' NOVEMBER ARGO GALLERY SPEECH WAS SOLE EFFORT BY SENIOR GOC FIGURE TO PREPARE PUBLIC FOR FACT THAT ANY LIKELY SETTLEMENT WILL CONTAIN MANY ELEMENTS HITHERTO CONSIDERED UNACCEPTABLE BY GREEK CYPRIOT PUBLIC.

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5. FOLLOWING PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF IMPENDING AIRLIFT, GREEK CYPRIOT OFFICIALS MADE NO EFFORT DAMP DOWN LOCAL REACTION. CYPRUS RADIO AND TELEVISION (CBC) GAVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO EARLY DEMONSTRATIONS; UPCOMING ONES WERE HEAVILY ADVERTISED. PUBLIC COMMENT BY GOC OFFICIALS WAS INFLAMMATORY. NONE OF THIS WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT TOLERATION, OR SUPPORT, OF ARCHBISHOP. CBC, IN PARTICULAR, IS CLOUTY CONTROLLED

BY PALACE.

6. MOBS THEMSELVES WERE LED BY INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFIED AS SUPPORTERS OF MAKARIOS CONFIDANT VASSOS LYSSARIDES. BRITISH AND AMERICAN TARGETS OBVIOUSLY WERE CHOSEN IN ADVANCE; MOB ACTION WAS CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED. FACT THAT POLICE EASILY TURNED ASIDE JANUARY 18 HALF-HEARTED EFFORT TO REACH UK HIGH COMMISSION CHANCERY, LOCATED NEAR GREEN LINE, WHILE THEY MADE NO EFFORT PREVENT ATTACKS SAME DAY ON BRITISH CULTURAL, CONSULAR, AND COMMERCIAL OFFICES OR THIS EMBASSY, SUGGESTS ASSAULTS ON LATTER SITES ENJOYED AT LEAST TACIT GOC APPROVAL. THIS SUGGESTION STRENGTHENED BY SUCCESS OF GOC'S SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS TO PREVENT REPETITION OF MAJOR DAMAGE DURING JANUARY 20 ATTACK ON USIS. MAKARIOS' PERSONAL INTERVENTION WAS KEY FACTOR IN SAVING AMERICAN CENTER LIBRARY.

7. CONCLUSION SEEMS INESCAPABLE THAT ARCHBISHOP OR HIS ENTOURAGE SOUGHT THROUGH JANUARY 18 DEMONSTRATIONS TO TRANSFER PUBLIC ATTENTION, AND BLAME, FROM ACTUAL MOVEMENT OF POPULATIONS -- AND LACK OF NEGOTIATING SUCCESS -- TO SUPPOSED MACHINATIONS OF TURKEY'S BRITISH AND AMERICAN ALLIES. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PROVE CONCLUSIVELY THAT INTENT WAS TO DESTROY EMBASSY; MOB MAY HAVE GOTTEN OUT OF HAND. NEVERTHELESS, USE OF VIOLENCE -- INCLUDING ROCK THROWING, GASOLINE BOMBS, AND FORCED ENTRY WITH CROWBARS -- WAS APPARENTLY SANCTIONED BY HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOC.

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PRS-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 IO-03 ORM-01 SR-02 SY-02 ACDA-10

RSC-01 /059 W

----- 079768

R 291400Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1039

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN
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LIMDIS

8. ARCHBISHOP'S BELATED PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN CONTAINING VIOLENCE, LARGELY AS RESULT USG WARNING OF CONSEQUENCES ANY FURTHER ATTACKS, WILL CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR LOCAL OFFICIALS IF THEY CONTINUE ATTEMPT DIVERT RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOLVING CYPRIOT PROBLEMS ONTO FOREIGN SHOULDERS. SUCH EFFORTS WOULD LIKELY PRODUCE RENEWED DEMONSTRATIONS AND SECURITY FORCES WOULD BE CALLED UPON, AS ON JANUARY 20 AT USIS, TO CONFRONT THEIR KINSMEN IN VIOLENT CLASHES. HOW LONG THEY WOULD CONSENT FILL THIS ROLE, AND WITH WHAT EFFECT ON GOC'S INTERNAL STABILITY, IS QUESTIONABLE. ADDITIONALLY, CONTINUED DISARRAY IN GREEK CYPRUS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY INCREASE TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE IN NEGOTIATIONS, WHILE CARRYING GRAVE RISK THAT DEMONSTRATIONS MIGHT TURN AGAINST REMAINING TURK CYPRIOTS IN SOUTH.

9. FURTHER DANGER COULD COME FROM SMALL-SCALE TERRORIST
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ACTIVITY, DIRECTED AGAINST SECURITY FORCES OR FOREIGN MISSIONS, IN LIEU OF MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS. GOVERNMENT'S INACTION ON JANUARY 18, APPARENTLY GUIDED EDITORIALS EXTOLLING HELLENIS HEROISM OF DEMONSTRATORS, AND OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AFTER EVENTS HAVE LEGITIMIZED, TO SOME EXTENT, USE OF VIOLENCE AS POLITICAL TOOL. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT CONVINCE EXTREMISTS TO FORGO ACTION NOW. MAKARIOS' JANUARY 20 APPEAL FOR MAINTENANCE OF ORDER WAS SEEN BY CYPRIOT PUBLIC AS RETREAT IN FACE USG THREAT WITHDRAW FROM CYPRUS SCENE. THIS APPEAL MAY NOT HOLD IF NEGOTIATIONS STAGNATE, AND THERE ARE SOME LOCAL ELEMENTS, PARTICULARLY LYSSARIDES' FOLLOWERS, WHO MIGHT SEEK TO LAUNCH ATTACK PRECISELY TO REMOVE USG INVOLVEMENT IN CYPRIOT AFFAIRS. MANY HERE HAVE LONG BEEN DISSATISFIED WITH U.S. ROLE AND PRESENCE ON ISLAND. AS RESULT PUBLICITY GIVEN OUR DEMARCHE, THEY NOW HAVE KEY TO EFFECTING OUR REMOVAL.

10. THUS DEMONSTRATIONS, WHICH HAD SHORT-TERM BENEFIT IN DIVERTING PUBLIC OPINION FROM GOVERNMENT'S LACK OF SUCCESS IN HANDLING REFUGEE ISSUE, COULD IN END WORK

AGAINST BOTH PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS AND ARCHBISHOP'S
OWN INTERESTS. HE WILL NOW HAVE TO CONTAIN LOCAL ACTIVISTS
WHILE MAKING ONLY LIMITED AND, FROM GREEK CYPRIOT POINT OF
VIEW, UNSATISFACTORY PROGRESS ON REAL ISSUES CONFRONTING
HIS PEOPLE.
CRAWFORD

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REFUGEES, PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, EVACUATIONS, CIVIL DISORDERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NICOSI00404
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750032-1068
From: NICOSIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750110/aaaaaivc.tel
Line Count: 229
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <22 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOME IMPLICATIONS OF WSBA EVACUATION AND RESULTING DEMONSTRATIONS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CY, WSBA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006